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was floundering from 1846 to 1855; and much of the interest of this third volume is in the new light that it throws on the history of the Whig and Peelite parties as well as on the internal organization and drifting of the Conservatives in the decade that followed the downfall of Peel.

Mr. Buckle makes no attempt to conceal his own political convictions. They crop out, as has been noted, when he is concerned with protection, and again in writing of democracy and taxation. In view of the heavy contributions to taxation which the working classes of the United Kingdom have made through the revenue duties on beer, tobacco, and tea, and especially in view of the willingness of the Labor party in the war session of 1914 to extend the income tax to wage-earners, there is not much ground for Mr. Buckle's lament that the tendency of democracy "to exempt almost entirely from taxation the classes who hold political power fills political philosophers with disquiet for the future". But no possible objection can be made to a biographer infusing a little of himself into his work, and nothing but praise can be accorded Mr. Buckle's first volume of the Disraeli biography; for he has given us a book that can be read from beginning to end with the keenest interest by people who have never had volumes I. and II. in their hands and who may have no expectation of reading volume IV.

EDWARD PORRITT.

Report of the International Commission to inquire into the Causes and Conduct of the Balkan Wars. [Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of Intercourse and Education, Publication No. 4.] (Washington, D. C.: Published by the Endowment. 1914. Pp. 413.)

WHEN in the course of the second Balkan War the newspapers reported that a commission was to be sent by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace to investigate the Balkan atrocities on the spot, many readers wearily shrugged their shoulders over the announcement. *Cui bono?* The misdeeds had been done, the dishonored dead would not return to life, and as long as the moral and racial conditions of the peninsula remained what they were, the outrages were sure to be repeated in the future regardless of the most convincing statistics and the most moving homilies. Over a year has passed and now the *Report* of the commission is submitted to the public. The most indifferent sceptic who reads it with open mind will be forced to grant that here is a body of material collected with single-minded attention to the truth and that, though done is done and all our tears will not blot out a single wrong, it was yet worth while to bring together all this material while it was fresh and throbbing which goes to prove how ruthless man may become in pursuit of an idea. For it was the idea of national greatness that caused this orgy of Balkan crime. The members of the commission were eight in number, who came from six great neutral coun-

tries and were all qualified by character and training to make some special contribution to the investigation. They travelled widely through the peninsula getting a first-hand view of everything, they interrogated hundreds of people of every nationality and station, and in addition to printing as appendixes an enormous body of evidence, they co-ordinated their findings in intelligent and absolutely fair-minded essays treating such matters as the Non-combatant Population, the War and the Nationalities, the War and International Law, and so forth.

What are the commission's conclusions touching the main issues with which their investigation was concerned? First place may be conceded to the atrocities—the *causa movens* of the enterprise. Without the shadow of a doubt genuine and terrible atrocities were committed by all the combatants—Turks, Servians, Bulgarians, and Greeks. The judgment implicates the Bulgarians with the rest but is none the less a kind of vindication of that people. For, cut off for the length of the war from the rest of Europe, the Bulgarians were accused by all their enemies whom the control of the telegraph lines permitted to retain the ear of Europe, of the exclusive practice of every conceivable horror. In view of the fact that the Greeks were particularly vociferous in this denunciation (telegram of King Constantine of July 12) the neutral reader may derive some just satisfaction from the discovery that the *Report* gives them a blacker record than the enemy whom they slandered. Their doings at Strumnitsa are perhaps the most revolting page in the whole terrible tale (pp. 106–108). But this acknowledgment should not be construed as meaning that any other people's record is appreciably better. Next as to Macedonia, the prize for which the wars were fought. By reason of their final victory recorded in the treaty of Bucharest the Greeks and Servians took over the bulk of the conquered territory and by the most brutal military pressure immediately attempted to "convert" the native Bulgarian population to either the Greek or Servian nationality. The evidence on this head is overwhelming and is even more revolting than the crimes committed in the heat of open conflict, for these conversion tactics were applied from day to day in cold blood and, we must believe, are employed at this hour as vigorously as ever. Under these circumstances "the conclusion is forced upon one, that in so far as the treaty of Bucharest has sanctioned the illegitimate claims of victorious nationalities, it is a work of injustice which in all probability will fail to resist the action of time" (p. 206). And finally on the greatest moral canker of the peninsula, the excessive nationalist passion of all the populations, the commission offers this weighty opinion: "We regard as just and legitimate, we even admire the deeds . . . by which nationality defends its existence. . . . But when these same nationalities pass from the defensive to the offensive, and . . . begin to impinge on the existence of another national individuality, they are doing something illicit, even criminal" (p. 206).